/36 cont'd/

476 is always maintained, and mutual assistance is their duty. Some important aspects of this are as follows:

/37/ (a) Mutual assistance in economic life. For instance, if a family in the village has a wedding ceremony or funeral service, the other families usually contribute money and rice to help reduce the burden.

(b) Mutual assistance in labor. If a family in the village needs help for heavy work, the head of the family usually calls on his [431 276] neighbor for assistance with a little tobacco as a gift. If the neighbor accepts the gift, this indicates that he is willing to offer his assistance. The head of the family usually entertains the neighbor with food and wine after the work is done.

(c) Mutual aid in matters of morale. They usually congratulate one another on festive occasions and comfort one another in grief.

[428] Among the Miao there is no larger unit of social organization than the village. However, between villages there is frequent intercourse and all kinds of mutual assistance. (Owing to their environmental circumstances, the Miao tend to be cooperative and united. For details, see Chapter IX.)

631 Since the pao-chia system was established in the Miao area, intervillage relations have been greatly changed. The basic unit is a pao, which is a subdivision of a chia. A chia is a subdivision of a t'uan. A Miao village is either under the administration of a chia or a pao. Relationships between the pao and the chia, the chia and the t'uan apparently have become extensive and complicated.

A detailed description of the pao-chia system in the Li-Miao area appears in my previous study, Report on an Investigation of the Li of Hainan Island.

421 4. The Land System and the Distribution of Wealth

The Miao own very little property. The mountains on which 427 they live are either bought or rented from the Li or from Chinese merchants (the Chinese merchants having purchased them earlier from the Li). The funds to purchase or rent the land are collected from each family in a village, each family contributing an equal

/42 cont'd/
000 we did not have the opportunity to taste it. Their chopsticks, bowls,
415 trays, and dishes are of the same kind as those of the Chinese.
171 Their method of maintaining potable water is also worth noting.
312 High in the mountains where the Miao live, there are no streams. Even small ditches are rarely to be found. Except for rain water, ordinary drinking water is hard to come by. Hence their water supply largely depends on small springs high up in the mountains from which the water is conducted downward by bamboo tubes joined together. These springs are not copious and drop by drop it flows
[415] down the bamboo tubes. The people who take the water just put a bamboo bucket (made of rather bulky bamboo, and about three or four ch'ih high) under the lower end of the bamboo tube. When the bucket is full of water, they carry it back home and put the water into large jars. /43/ Since the springs are very small, and dirt
[414] often gets into the water, it is unusually impure, and an outsider easily gets sick by drinking it.

273 The men like to smoke and drink wine. There are women who
276 drink wine; there are none who smoke. The tobacco smoked is of two kinds—the cut, pipe tobacco and tobacco leaves. They usually use a water pipe made of bamboo tubes for smoking. Cigarettes are not very popular. They are very careful drinkers, and it is unusual to see anyone drink to the point of becoming intoxicated. Except at feasts, drinking is not a daily habit. Betel-nut chewing is a favorite practice.

2. Clothing

291 Miao men's clothing is very simple. On the upper body is worn a short coat with a large lapel which opens on the right side. The coat either has a collar or is collarless and has three or four buttons. The long pants worn on the lower body are the same as those of the
302 Chinese. Miao men generally shave the hair all around, leaving
291 only a small circle on the top of the head or a queue which is rolled around the head. The forehead is sually covered with a long folded kerchief. Boys wear small mellon caps and usually go barefoot in the daytime and wear wooden slippers at night.

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?)1947 AE5 Miao AE5

621 were the elders, men who stood at the head of groups of closely related families, known as *pao*. There were three *pao* in Yang-chia-sai, and hence three elders, who formed the village council. Disputes within the family were settled, if possible, in the family, in the *pao* within the *pao*. Disputes within the village between members of different *pao* were ordi-
621 narily settled by the three elders. If, however,
648 they were unable to effect a settlement, the litigants had the right to carry their dispute to the next higher official, the *lien pao chang*,[1] who was a Chinese, and so on up to the Chinese court in the *hsien* city.

276 **Legal Difficulties.** When I went back to
689 the village for the second period of residence,
648 the first of February, 1942, I found that the
123 old man's son, Cheng-hsiang, had been in prison in Lung-li for two weeks. He had gone to collect the price of some rice sold to two families in the city. At the second house he had been arrested in an opium raid and held on the charge of opium smoking. On the sixth I went to the *hsien* magistrate's office on his behalf and found that he had been sent to the local Health Station for observation. The man in charge there was called in. He said Cheng-hsiang would be released and cleared of the charge at the expiration of the required period of observation. On the afternoon of the eighth he was allowed to go home for clean clothing. On the tenth he was released and cleared of the charge.

661 This same young man went during the last
648 week in June to a place to the east to sell some
123 pork. Upon the homeward way he was robbed by soldiers of the proceeds of the sale and carried off. His companion, who had carried the pork, escaped and went into hiding for a while. They could find out nothing about Cheng-hsiang until a letter came from him, saying that he was held at the point where the motor road forked, one fork going to Hunan, the other to Kwangsi. I went to the *hsien* magistrate for him, as they hesitated to go alone to the *hsien* office and felt in this case that my presence might obtain a better reception there for them, and was told to have them send in an official statement, which

[1] The head official of the *lien pao*.

Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5

worst, of all the Miao tribes. We have lived much among the Heh Miao, and believe there are plenty of decent women among them. But there are no decent women among the Ta-hua Miao, or there were none until the missionaries went among them. The Ta-hua Miao of Wei-ning district and around Chaotung were, and in some cases are still, so bad that they could hardly be worse. This is describing their moral condition in very few words, but these are quite enough. The less said on this topic the better, and so we leave it.

The vice of opium smoking is not so prevalent among them as it is among the Chinese, but many of them grow, and some of them smoke, opium. During our own experience among them for fifteen years we have noticed the habit becoming more and more prevalent. In villages where fifteen years ago only one or two smoked surreptitiously, there are now houses where many of them go and smoke openly. In the elevated regions of the west, where opium cannot be grown, the habit is almost unknown, but elsewhere it is spreading among them.

Opium may not be a specific for all the ills that flesh is heir to, but it seldom fails to ease pain and give temporary relief, and among

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5

276 people who have no medical science, with opium always at hand, it is easy to foresee what the state of matters will be in the course of time if things go on as they are. Fortunately, the Chinese Government seem determined to put an end to the cultivation of the poppy, and if they do put a stop to it, as we believe they will sooner or later, there will be an end to this vice among the Miao. Most of them are too poor to buy it for themselves, so cannot use it if they do not produce it.

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

Men sometimes amuse themselves by going hunting together, generally in the winter time when there is less work to do. Both men and boys play shuttlecock at New Year time. The shuttlecock is often made by fastening feathers to a piece of bamboo. Sometimes the shuttlecock is kicked but more often it is knocked back and forth by means of wooden bats. There is a memory game in which the players use grains of corn. One is blindfolded or turns his back and the grains of corn are laid out on the table. Others pick up the grains of corn, a few at a time and say, "So many grains have been picked up. How many are left?" Sometimes, one or two cobs of corn are held in the hand and the players guess how many grains of corn there are on each cob. One game is played by nailing two planks or wooden beams together in the center at right angles to each other and balancing them on a pivot. Four men or boys balance themselves on the four ends of the beams and others rapidly turn around the cross or wheel with the four men on it. "Playing lion" is indulged in at New Year time and at weddings. Two men throw over themselves a cloth resembling a lion's skin. Then the lion fights with a man who always triumphs over the beast. Occasionally friends are invited to a feast where wine and tobacco are the principal means of entertainment. Both men and women smoke tobacco and drink wine but few of them smoke opium.

The Ch'uan Miao are lovers of music and among their principal amusements are singing and playing the *liu shêng* 六笙 or six-tubed wind instrument accompanied with dancing. There is no written language and much of the history and legends or folklore of the group have been made into songs and are passed on from generation to generation. Some of the words in the oldest songs are not understood by the Miao at the present time and many of the young people are not learning the songs so that it is probable that they will be forgotten and lost within the next forty years.

The Ch'uan Miao rarely sing group songs or songs in which men sing one verse and women sing another in response. This is more common among the Hua Miao. Nearly all the songs are sung by one person, a man or a woman, to whom others listen. Sometimes, but rarely, men sing one verse and women sing in response alternating until the song is finished. The songs sung on such occasions are love songs. At engagement ceremonies the middle men of the bride and the middle men of the groom sing alternately, sometimes ridiculing and sometimes praising each other. These songs and their tunes have been composed and handed down to subsequent generations for hundreds and perhaps thousands of years and they

10: Graham E-5 (1921-?) 1954 AE5 Miao AE5

846 While the couvade is found among the Hua Miao neighbors
837 to the south,

evidence of this practice has yet been found among the Ch'uan Miao. The Ch'uan Miao, however, have a very strange custom: Certain female relatives of the man are his "guest-wives," and certain male relatives of a woman are her "guest-husbands." Without marriage they are allowed to practice sexual relations, and it is not regarded as wrong. In recent years, owing to Christian influence, there have been endeavors to discontinue this practice.

631 The Ch'uan Miao are not a tribe with a political organization that includes
622 the whole group. There are no tribal rulers, but they have local headmen, called *gū leo* or "old clubs," who sometimes cooperate for the common good. These people are an ethnic group bound together by common language, ideals, and customs and by a strong sense of unity. They are very sociable and mutually helpful.

SOCIAL LIFE AND CEREMONIES

517 Practically the only amusements of Ch'uan Miao women and girls are visiting, attending feasts, marriages, funerals, and other ceremonies, listening to people singing songs and watching the men dance and play the *liu sheng*, going to market, making love, and gossiping. They are supposed to use their spare time for sewing and making hemp thread and yarn and embroideries.

526 Among the more popular amusements of men and boys are hunting, kicking
536 the shuttlecock, and playing "snake protecting her eggs," blindman's buff, sham
273 battle, or dogs chasing wild animals. During the New Year holidays and at
276 weddings "playing lion" is a popular amusement. Both men and women smoke tobacco and drink wine. While the Miao have no theatricals, they often join the throngs and look at Chinese plays being performed in temples or in the open in Chinese towns and cities.

533 Like the other Miao groups in China, the Ch'uan Miao are lovers of music. Except the singing and the responses of go-betweens while making engagements, in contests between men and women, and in the newly established schools and chapels, there is no group singing. There is a kind of band music, but usually all the instruments play the same tune in unison. Generally the *liu sheng* is played by one man who dances, and vocalists sing one at a time while all listen with rapt attention. This singing of stories and songs is one of the principal amusements of the Ch'uan Miao.

The singing may be by either a man or a woman, generally of middle age or older. Nearly all the stories and myths and bits of history of the group have been made into songs and as such are handed down from generation to generation, taught by one singer to another. Some of the singers know only a few songs, but
212 there are some who know and can sing several hundred. It should be emphasized that the Ch'uan Miao have no written language or literature.

584 There is a great deal of love-making among the Ch'uan Miao, who have their share of pretty girls. Marriage is through go-betweens, and the arrangements are made between the older members of the two families, the bride and the groom often not even being consulted. There is a gift from the parents of the groom to those of the bride, and the value of the gift often determines whether the engagement is made.

[4 cont.]
101 shall not enumerate them separately. According to my classi-
184 fication the I in Kweichow may be divided into Chung-chia, Sui-chia, Tung-chia and Chuang-chia; the Miao may be divided into Hê Miao, Hua Miao, Ch'ing Miao, Pê Miao and Hung Miao. The Hê Miao and Hu Miao are more numerous and occupy a large territory. The Hê Miao live in the various hsien districts in the southeast, and the Hua Miao in the northwestern districts. The Hung Miao, Ch'ing Miao and Pê Miao are fewer in number and live in some narrow strips of land. The Hung Miao are limited to T'ung-jen and Sung-t'ao in the northeast; the Ch'ing Miao, to Kweiyang, Ting-fan, Ch'ing-chen and An-shun in the middle of the province; and the Pê Miao, to Kweiyang, Kwei-ting and Lung-li also in the middle. The Chung-chia and the Tung-chia among the I are the most numerous and occupy wider areas, being chiefly in the middle and the south. The Tung-chia are mostly in the southeast corner, and the Sui-chia in Li-po, Tu-shan, San-ho, Tu-chiang, and Hsia-chiang in the south. A small number of Tung-chia [Chuang-chia?] emigrated several decades ago from I-pei, Lo-ch'eng and San-chiang in Kwangsi and settled along the commercial highways in the border regions.

3) Characteristics. Physically, the Miao-I are a very
181 [147] sturdy and healthy people. They work hard all year round from sunrise to sunset, barefooted, wearing little in wind and rain, and living with Nature itself. Being a simple-minded people, they have few vices. Before opium was banned in
[276] Kweichow, only a few Miao-I were addicted to this drug with the result that they are healthier than the Chinese in every respect. They can endure hardship and are perseverant and patient. Their outstanding character is honesty and straightforwardness: anyone who can earn their trust will find them faithful and true to the last without ever faltering. If you ask them to leap into the flame they would do so without hesitation. But their knowledge being limited, they have little judgment, are stubborn and tardy, and lack the will to progress. They do everything according to what is handed down from their ancestors, [5] and it is often difficult to explain things to them.

[8 cont.]

755 to perform the ritual. Collusion between the two is common, and the ignorant people are made victims. These ghost affairs, however, often have a psychological effect and little ailments are sometimes healed this way. But in nine out of ten serious cases death is the only outcome. Their superstition is so deep-
[753] rooted that they think all diseases are caused by spirits who have to be appeased. Death is considered a destiny, and the living resign
[761] themselves to fate. Every year when diseases are prevalent in all hsien areas in Kweichow, the diviners and the priests do a thriving trade that unfortunately causes innumerable deaths. What a pity!

6) Vices. Kweichow is an opium producing province. The
276 opium growers are the Miao-I, but they themselves detest this drug, and those among them who smoke opium are extremely rare. Even cigarette-smokers are few. But there is a kind of tobacco, locally produced, which is favored by all. When they are not at work, whether sitting down leisurely or walking in the street, they would smoke unceasingly the pipe tobacco. They
273 are fond of wine; men and women, old and young, derive pleasure from liquor and encourage each other to drink more, their breath reeking of alcohol. There are two kinds of spirits; a strong wine made from corn and mixed grains, and a white wine distilled from glutinous rice. The quality of both is mediocre and the taste ordinary, but they relish them with delight.

7) Recreation. The Miao-I in Kweichow are mostly farmers
517 who live apart in wild mountains and lone valleys under difficult and strenuous circumstances. They work so hard [9] that if they do not seek some kind of amusement, life would be entirely devoid of pleasure. So all groups of Miao-I emphasize recreations, which take place in between farming periods, such as the liu-sheng [six-pipe bamboo wind instrument] dance, the flower dance, market dance, moon dance, chasing the moon, sitting in the moon, singing, yao-ma-lang [or kan-piao, love-making], bull fight and horse racing. Among these the liu sheng dance,
[527] flower dance, market dance, bull fight and horse racing are held periodically in a fixed location according to precedents. The

[159 contr]

271 The "Méo" habitually drink water, but they make alcohol
273 from grain (distilled or fermented) which they often drink without the slightest moderation.

They smoke tobacco in the bamboo water pipe or in the long
276 pipe [160] with the small bowl and mouthpiece of porcelain, of a model analogous to that of the "Man" pipe.

They smoke opium in a very moderate manner. Big opium smokers are rare among the "Méo" of Upper Tonkin.

[249] Sometimes they cultivate hashish, but never make use of it.

The "Méo" are, above all, farmers and they cultivate upon
241 their mountains the various grains and vegetables enumerated above.
311 They utilize to this end parcels of land capable of growing vegetation, even the tiniest, sides of knolls, shallow basins, clefts in the rocks.

The maize is sown in the fourth month and is spread about on
243 all the parcels which can be cultivated, often by clumps of two or three hills. The ground is scratched very lightly, with the plough or with the hoe. It receives a little manure at the exact spot where the seed will be deposited. The harvest takes place towards the eighth month. It is not unusual to see the fields planted to maize—
249 as we have seen above for certain irrigated rice fields — transform themselves into ground for the growing of opium, which is planted toward the ninth month, after the earth has been mixed with a few ashes. The opium harvest takes place the third month and the ground
[243] again is given over to the cultivation of maize or of sorghum. The buckwheat generally produces two crops a year.

The "Méo" also cultivate hemp, to which they consecrate their
248 best areas of ground (bottoms of cirques or of valleys). The hemp is sown the fourth month and reaped the seventh month.

The "Méo" keep a few bees. They often have hives whose
231 honey is used in cake-making.

They raise their numerous vegetables either in gardens laid
244 out near their cabins, or in the maize fields at the same time as the maize.

The agricultural implements consist of ploughs of a primitive
412 model with ploughshares of iron, and some hoes. For the harvest,
407 large scythes and billhooks are used.

252 face, crowned with the halo of their wide turban, and a throat panting
243 with the effort just accomplished, together with their ballerina skirts
462 flapping about their bare legs-- the general effect of all this at the foot of a rocky cliff makes a picture to tempt the brush of a Millet.

Section 7

Way of Life--Intellectual State--
Religious Ideas--Custom Relating to Birth, Marriage, and Death--Religious Ideas

181 The Meo likes his independence very much. However, he is
177 less uncouth than the Man in his dealings with the French. It is not
609 impossible to make a soldier of him and the creation of the small posts,
701 linh co, of this race have been entirely successful. In 1904 about forty of them were incorporated into the "Tonkinese Tirailleurs" at Bao Lac, but this attempt gave less satisfactory results because of their antipathy to life in the barracks. In the future we should be satisfied with having them enter the police forces of the frontier.

871 The Meo, while somewhat crude, are not entirely without
153 intelligence. A school was founded in March 1903 at the military post of Phobang, made up of young Meo and Lolo, and at the end of a year most of them, and especially the Lolo, already were reading correctly and were beginning to write little phrases in French. From this experiment one might at last conclude that these peoples are capable of a certain intellectual culture.

262 /141/ The Meo's method of living is of the simplest. His usual
252 food is maize, he eats meat only on the occasion of festivities, but
415 then he is not forbidden to eat the flesh of the dog, as are the Man. Maize is cooked by steaming. It is eaten at home with an abundance of vegetables, but for meals while traveling, or in the fields, small cakes are made of it. A porcelain spoon is the only instrument used in bringing food to the mouth.

276 Although the cultivation of the opium poppy is very widespread
[249] among the Meo, he uses very little of it himself. On the other hand, almost all smoke tobacco, either in a water pipe, or in a pipe similar to our own. The tobacco prepared by them looks like French tobacco, but is very much stronger. Neither men nor women chew betel. Far
301 from lacquering their teeth, they take a certain pride in having them
515 brilliantly white and go so far as to carry their tooth-brushes hanging from their necklaces.

/43 cont./

634 695 I shall now give a description of such a popular assembly, as I wrote it down according to the stories of the Meau.

The great chief lived in a house that was distinguished, [342] not by its type of construction, but by its special size and beautiful appointments, /44/ from all the other houses in the village. From here he had issued the order through his officials for the popular assembly to convene. On the day of the assembly, the great chief took his place on a stool in the hall of [516] his house. A few steps away from him the chiefs and village elders subordinate to him sat on their heels in a semicircle. All of these men had to be distinguished by an immaculate record, and not every head of a large family was considered worthy of this honor, no matter how old he was. The rest of the men squatted at a proper distance from these dignitaries, and those who could not find any space in the house itself squatted in a dense crowd on the open place in front of the [276] house. Everybody smoked tobacco in large wooden pipes.

[292] The great chief, distinguished by a broad black sash and sleeve trimmings of the same color, remained seated as he opened the meeting by stating the facts of the case in a loud voice. Next he got up and went to the altar. Here he sacri- [782] ficed either chickens or one or several pigs, depending on the importance of the issue before the assembly to the god of heaven and asked the latter to help him with his decision. Then he returned to his seat, sat down, and directed a question to one of the chiefs or village elders. The man addressed jumped up and answered. Sometimes, however, one of the elders would address one of the men in the crowd, perhaps a fellow-villager who was familiar with the issue under discussion. Then this man would jump up and not sit down again until he had given his answer. Finally, when everything was clear, the great chief gave his decision and asked those present to return to their villages. This brought the assembly to a close, and everybody relished the food that had been provided.

/80 cont./

A M 593 858 [152] reached an age when they can think for themselves. Jealousy also seems to play no great role among the adults; at any rate, among the Meau I could not find any manifestation of this trait. Meau parents are very loving toward all their children and, as was pointed out, regard them as their most precious possession.

A M 515 593 I repeatedly had the opportunity to observe how wives delouse their husbands while the latter were simultaneously performing this charitable act on their children (Ill. 62).[1] The parasites that they caught were placed between the thumb nails and cracked with pleasure. It was a picture of a family idyl!

M 593 [595] [425] [752] [270] [185] [614] [736] The love of the chief of the Meau for his wives and his children was always apparent. Concerning this, I noted in my journal: "He never disposes of their property without consulting them. If they are sick, he is meticulous in providing them with everything they need, even with opium." I have asked many Meau parents what their goal was in rearing their children. In the plans they mentioned, the idea of security was decidedly secondary, as is only natural. After all, the sib takes care of its members, and even if later on a person should survive all the other members of his sib, he would, if it came to the worst, place himself as an unfree person under the protection of an existing powerful sib (see the chapter, "Social Organization," the section on "Organization of the Family"). Of the

M 185 eight persons whom I asked about this, only one made a remark in which one could see the idea of security implied, but more as referring to himself. He was a chief with three wives and many children. He said to me: "Yes, now I am well off; I am rich and have many children who work for me. But when I was young, things were different. I was all alone with my first wife; we were poor and had to work hard, and yet we were hardly able to make a living, and we often had to go hungry."

M [858] The educational ideals of the Meau, which became manifest from the answers to my questions on the subject, differed according to the individual talents of the parents. Aside from that, however, they did not differ essentially among the two sexes. /Colored Pl. I appears here on an unnumbered page./

[1] [See cat 116, P450-ANALYST]

/180 cont./

123 rather hoped to gain his friendship completely and not only
755 observe the course of the ceremony, but, if possible, record it
[124] with my Contax. I asked the chief to persuade the shaman to make another attempt and promised to link my efforts with his. I would set up my apparatus and hoped, with the help of the smoke of my flash bulbs, to conjure up my spirits and to enlist their help in saving Lü.

This gave my wife and me the opportunity to observe in detail the activity of all the participants in such a ceremony.

755 At about eleven o'clock the shaman came and asked for a
782 small amount of opium, which he began to smoke, while in the house the preparations for the ceremony were made. An altar
[276] (Figs. 41 and 43) was erected for the teacher-spirit of the shaman and the three pairs of assistants, and a bench was placed in front of it, over which a cover was spread so that the shaman would have a soft seat. Soon afterwards, a small vessel with incense candles stood on the altar. A small fat-burning lamp of brass was
[354] polished, filled with lard, and lighted, for the spirits need light, just as human beings do. There was rice on green leaves, roasted maize kernels on others, and a porcelain bowl filled with water stood ready, as well as a large quantity of spirit-money with a spirit-valve of thousands of pieces of silver (Fig. 46 to Fig. 50).
755 Then the house was swept clean, and directly /181/ behind the
789 bench in front of the altar a fireplace was erected, with which all was ready for the conjuration.

Beside this fireplace, the patient, the eldest son of the chief, and the latter himself now take their places, while the other members of the household, who have gradually assembled, stay in the back of the room. The shaman steps in front of the
[782] altar decorated with spirit-paper, lights four incense candles for his teacher-spirit and the latter's assistant spirits, and sets out for them four small bowls of tea and as many of rice. He then picks up a small bronze gong, to which are fastened two bundles of cloth strips (Fig. 30). The red signifies that menstru-
[822] ating women, the black that those who have given birth and
[941] have not yet menstruated, are neither to be present nor to see the instrument, for otherwise the spirits would not let themselves be conjured.

/236 cont./

757 Individual medications of the Meau are extraordinarily complicated in their manufacture. For example, in the fight against amoebic dysentery, unsuccessful though it is, a mixture consisting of 21 substances is given. For skin diseases, especially scabies, the Meau use a medicine called tǎun yā. It is made from the sap of a whole number of various trees, lianas, and euphorbias and is used externally. Gonorrhea is treated with an herb extract taken internally. Its efficacy, which I could not test, is supposed to be good.

752 The Meau are also successful in the treatment of wounds, as I was able to ascertain. They take the foliage of two large-
[824] leaved climbing plant, called yǎ yū and mā tlǎn, crush the green leaves in equal amounts, and apply the substance to the
[276] wound. Opium is eaten to ease pain and also for diarrhea.
[757] There is supposed to be a remedy which produces contraction of the uterus and which is given in connection with difficult
845 births.

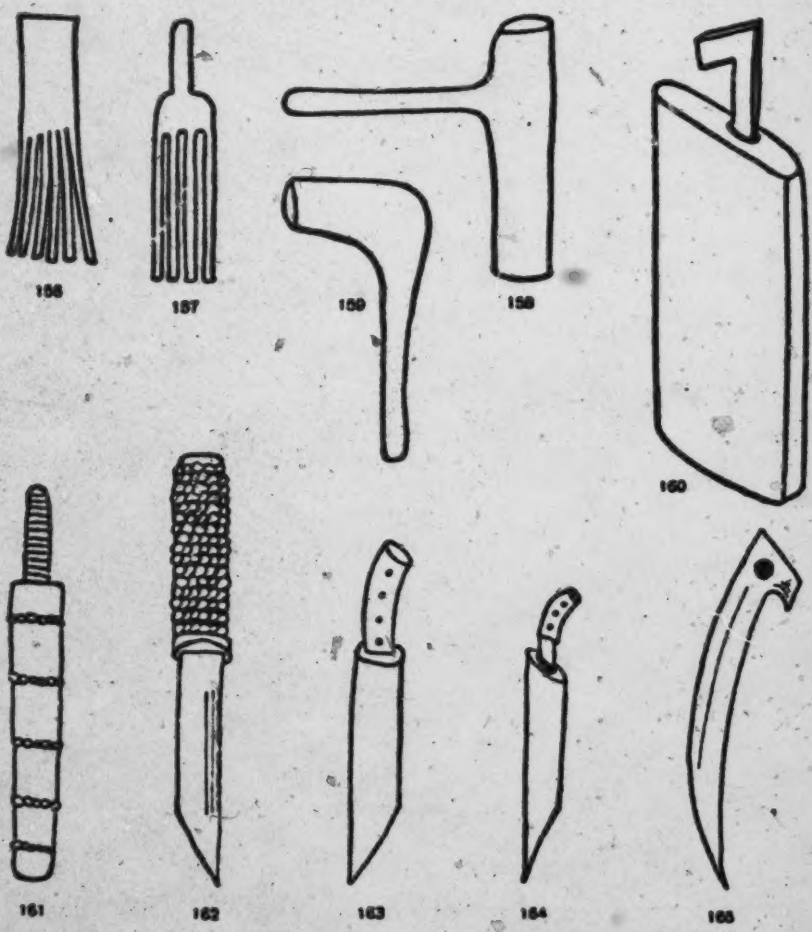
757 In addition to remedies which possibly are actually effective medically, the Meau use a whole number of quack medicines.
[847] For example, the dried human umbilical cord placed upon persons who have fainted is said to revive them. For struma, a tuber, kā, roasted and pounded, is applied. Its inefficacy is clearly seen by the extraordinary frequency of struma. The
752 remedies of the Meau for snake bites and scorpion stings are also ineffective. For the bite of the green tree-snake, crushed gourd
[827] leaves are put on the place of the bite; for cobra bites, ear wax.
[276] For python bites, tartar is placed on the wound; for other snake bites, opium again is applied.

177 In addition, Chinese medicines play an important role;
278 among them the aphrodisiacs in particular are very numerous,
832 almost all of which can be traced back to Chinese origin. For example, the pulverized horn of the rhinoceros, for which the Chinese /237/ pay up to 1,000 marks apiece, is used as a means of strengthening waning sexual powers. Pulverized stag-antlers in bast serve the same purpose, for which the horn from a knaggy stag /Kolbenhirsch/ is regarded as almost more valuable than

39: Bernatzik--422 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand
Miao AE5

Figs. 156-165. Kitchen Utensils of the Meau.

412



[413] [289] [297] Fig. 156. Wooden fork for making powder. Fig. 157. Wooden fork for making paper, both about 1/10 nat. size. Figs. 158 and 159. Wooden mallets for pounding dough, about 1/6 nat. size. Fig. 160. Cutting board for tobacco, 1/5 nat. size. Figs. 161-164. Knives with iron blade, wooden handle, and wooden sheath. Fig. 161 = 1/5 nat. size. Fig. 162 = 1/5 nat. size. Fig. 163 = 1/5 nat. size. Fig. 164 = 1/7 nat. size. Fig. 165. [289] Bone knife for making paper, 1/4 nat. size.

Akha A04
Miao AE5

/312/ Especially numerous are the household inplements of plaited material; above all, the many shapes of the baskets are to be stressed. There are carrying baskets in all sizes, double-walled for heavy loads, loosely plaited for light loads (Ill. 93),[1A] large supply-baskets for the storing of /Figs. 178-180 appear here/ food, clothing, and cloth, chicken baskets, small carrying baskets and carrying bags for traveling; moreover, mats for sleeping, for threshing of grain, for covering food, the wide fish-nets, basket weirs, flat rice-baskets and strainers; and also knotted bags and fish nets. All these articles are described in detail in the chapter, "Handicrafts."

/313/ The description of the various opium implements (Ill. 74),[2A] which are numerous in every household, all the agricultural and smithy implements, and the work tools and cult objects, musical instruments, weapons, and so forth is contained in the appropriate chapters.

The division of the Akha house into cooking, living, and sleeping rooms is shown in the ground plan, /Fig. 91 (see the chapter, "Settlement and House Construction"). /Figs. 181-183 appear here./

The fireplaces of the Akha (Fig. 181) are square boxes which are filled with earth. They are sunk into the floor of the living-room (chapter, "Settlement and House Construction," Fig. 105, R). An iron tripod (Fig. 182) for the cooking pots stands on the ground surface, which is level with the floor. These fireplaces, one of which /314/ is for the men and the other for the women of the house, are used for heating the house as well as for cooking. Moreover, as has been mentioned, in each house there is a hearth for cooking the pig fodder (Fig. 183). This hearth consists of mound of stones which is enclosed on the outside with plaited bamboo. On this stone ring stands the iron basin under which the wood fire burns.

Fire is made, as among the Meau, with flint and iron (Figs. 119-122, chapter, "Household and Kitchen Utensils"). Dry wood dust is used as tinder.

1A [sec cat 116, p 643 - ANALYST]
2A [" " ", p 573 - "]

Miao AE5
AKha AO4

M 301 /326 cont./

Meau in Thailand (Ill. 57).[1] The dot of the question mark is formed by the button that holds the ornament in the hole in the ear lobe, while the curve hangs down to the chest (Figs. 219 and 220). The same author also saw ear pendants with a ring of jade among the Meau. These ear pendants are usually /Figs. 211-216 and 218-220 appear here/ /327/ purchased M [439] from the Yau /Yao/ or Chinese, but are also made by the Meau themselves, faithfully following the traditional model. Children often wear small silver bells in their ears.

Solid rings of silver, copper, or iron are worn around the ankles by both sexes (Figs. 221-223). /Figs. 217 and 221-227 appear here./

/328/ The finger rings that I saw among women, men, and children were mostly simple, open silver hoops, but one also frequently sees beautiful homemade ornamental rings (Figs. 224 and 225).

M [177] [413] [276] Among the various silver objects still to be mentioned here are the scratching pins (Fig. 226), probably of Chinese origin, which one comes across everywhere. They are worn tied to the belt, along with small bells and a needle for serving up opium.

A 291 [531] The clothing of the Akha maintains its characteristic note through the richness and the variety of the ornaments used. The patches, embroidery, and appendages of the articles of clothing and the body ornaments almost reach the limits of possibility, but nevertheless are used with so much taste that the clothing makes a thoroughly harmonious and very decorative impression (see Ills. 4 to 13 and Colored Plate I).[2] The basic elements, however, the dark-blue material and the cut, as well as the three-part division of the women's clothing into A [171] [286] [439] [294] blouse, skirt, and leggings and the two-part division of the men's clothing into jacket and trousers, are the same as among the Meau and other mountain tribes of Farther India. The fabric is self-woven out of hemp or cotton and indigo (see the chapter, "Handicrafts") and even today is very seldom replaced by purchased goods. The clothing is sewed only by the women and apparently in abundant quantities, for among the Akha we never saw garments in use that were anywhere near as shabby or torn as among the Meau.

[1] [See Cat 116, P368 - ANALYST]
[2] [- ANALYST]

/346 cont./

224 484 juice of the plant prevented its being burned through before the meal was ready. As soon as the rice was cooked soft, the [252] Meau slit open the bamboo and emptied the contents upon a large leaf, which served him as a plate. Then he put a little [824] of it on a small leaf, which he put aside. This was the [415] offering to the spirits. Then the meal began. The rice was [782] formed into balls with the fingers and eaten with the hands. Hospitably the chief offered me some of his meal, and he [264] helped himself heartily when I invited him to enjoy some of [574] the sardines in oil that I had brought along. Whereas other [262] foreign peoples with whom I have dealt did not at all like European food and in particular sardines in oil, the Meau enjoyed everything tremendously.

[279] "When he had finally smoked his opium pipe, during which he attended to the fire from time to time, we lay down for our rest. It was somewhat disturbed at times, since, as a consequence of a head cold from which I was then suffering, I snored in my sleep, which caused the Meau to wake me up often. Moreover, I was heavier than he was, and consequently a deeper depression was made on my side, so that in his sleep he repeatedly rolled down on me, and I had no choice on my part but to wake him up often, which he did not seem to mind. We used these involuntary interludes of wakefulness to listen for the elephant, and we could hear his crackling until shortly before daybreak.

"With the first morning light, the Meau was up and dis- [262] appeared into the forest for 20 minutes and then returned with all kinds of leaves which, as vegetables, he mixed into the rice. Some of them tasted like sorrel, others like mint; in short, many resembled our seasoning herbs. Next he brought small, pepper-like fruits of a palm tree, the small, brown, salty-tasting fruits of a forest tree, and two fruits [263] of the wild lemon tree. He crushed these condiments and put them, like the various kinds of leaves, /Ills. 63-66 appear here on unnumbered pages/ /347/ into the rice. He [264] cooked an ample portion, enough rice for the midday meal

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 473]

/347 cont./

224 as well, which was to consist of the cold remains of breakfast.
484 At the end of this morning meal, too, the opium pipe could
not be dispensed with. Then the provisions were carefully
[264] wrapped in green leaves. At every handling of the food, the
[276] Meau saw to it that not one rice kernel was lost. All his
movements were uncannily quick and executed methodically,
and in scarcely forty minutes from the time we got up we
were ready to set out.

224 "We now had the strenuous task of climbing down the steep slope and soon came across the elephant's tracks, which the Meau, bent far forward like a sleuth-hound, followed. In places we crossed rocky terrain, and the tracks of the pachyderm were then no longer visible to my European hunter's eyes. This was not the case for the Meau, who lay down flat on the ground and, from barely discernible signs, such as a small overturned stone a bent blade of grass, recognized the trail, even though it had sometimes been crossed by muntjac or deer.

"All of a sudden, in the densest of forest thickets, we stumbled upon the haunt of an old gaur bull, which, as the tracks showed, did not leave his hiding place of about one hundred square meters. Straining all his senses, the Meau crept forward soundlessly and in a whisper bade me to watch out, since in this area we might easily be attacked by the buffalo at very close range. After considerable effort we reached the bottom of the valley, crossed the brook flowing in a torrent here, and began the ascent. Laboriously and step by step we had to fight our way straight up through the densest underbrush of thorns and ilex. In a short time I was bathed in sweat and, with pulses pounding, had to rest, especially since I was hampered by my long gun. The Meau, however, was impatient and pushed on relentlessly. When he saw that I had reached the end of my strength, he offered to take my gun and my rucksack and thus laden nevertheless struck out at such a pace that I had to put on the brake again and again.

/358 cont./

2. Poppies. The Meau cultivate three different types, which are recognizable by the color of their flowers. Accordingly, one distinguishes white, red, and purple poppies. At the end of June they are sowed in soil which has been loosened with digging sticks. Tobacco, spinach-like vegetables, or onions also grow in the poppy fields at the same time, which further increases the great importance of the poppy fields for the Meau. Six months after the sowing of the poppies the making of opium begins. For this the nearly ripe poppy heads are slit (Ill. 73)[1] with a three-bladed knife (chapter, "Food and Stimulants," Fig. 289). A whitish juice, the opium, oozes out and is carefully collected. After it has been properly treated, it represents the most valuable article of trade of the Meau. After the opium harvest comes that of the now ripened poppies, which are particularly valued as food on account of their high oil content. Moreover, poppy fields, as was said, can be laid out on old, harvested maize fields, so that the least amount of land is required for their cultivation. If one adds to that the fact that mixed poppy fields remain productive for ten to twenty years, depending on the fertility of the soil, it may be said that they, next to the rice fields, certainly constitute the most important agricultural production area of the Meau.

3. Sugar Cane. Early in May the Meau set out six types, which ripen at different times. Furrows about 17 to 18 centimeters deep are made with the hoe (Figs. 269 and 270) 90 centimeters apart, and the shoots are set out with the help of a setting peg at uniform intervals of about 30 centimeters. At the earliest, harvesting commences eight months after the ensuing cultivation. These sugar-cane beds are productive for three years on the average and then lie fallow.

4. Yams. As soon as the cultivation of sugar cane is ended, four different types of this potato-like tuber is planted. For this purpose small pits are dug about 80 centimeters apart, the /359/ pieces of the seed tubers, cut up according to the bud-eyes, are put in, and the pit is covered. The harvest of the early ripening types begins as early as four months later.

[1] [see Cat 116, p573 - ANALYST]

/368 cont./

231 Goats are likewise kept for meat and as sacrificial ani-
[262] mals, but only sporadically.
[782] Just as the farming of the Meau in Indochina is incom-
[184] parably more productive than among the Meau in Thailand, so also does the animal husbandry there represent an essentially broader economic base for them. This is shown by the description that Savina (2) gives concerning this in Indochina: "The

2. II, p. 200.

Meau raise buffalo, cattle, horses, pigs, goats, sheep, chickens, ducks, and geese. The livestock is their sole
[556] wealth; it is more valuable than money. Opium and livestock
[276] are the only things that they sell. As has been said, the cattle
[432] live freely outside in the mountains. Since they often remain away for weeks and months, the owners only rarely know how many animals they have. In the evening the cattle herd together to defend themselves against tigers. When they scent a tiger, the larger animals place themselves around the smaller ones and courageously await the enemy. At least so the Meau tell it. They very much like to praise their animals. There are families who own forty or fifty head of cattle. If all these animals were divided among all the families, each
[281] family would have twelve head. The hides of the slaughtered
[439] animals are dried and sold on the market.

"Horses are the usual companions of the buffalo and cattle in /369/ the pastures, but they are less wild. Every evening, they return to the village, and if they do not come by themselves, one searches for them with two ears of maize. One is given to them at the place where they are found, and with the other they are lured into the village. Buffalo and cattle are brought back with a piece of salt. This is only a matter of vilgum pecus, that is, pack horses; the good saddle
[492] horses are only seldom left free; they are provided for in the stable or in a corner of the house, and their mangers are rarely
[432] empty. The Meau never sell them.

/379 cont./

b) Stimulants

276 The Meau are passionate tobacco smokers, whereas snuff or the chewing of tobacco is unknown. Both kinds of tobacco 249 known to the Meau are at times mixed with the seeds of poppies and sowed with them at the end of May. The one kind, lŏ yŭm bĕ klĕ, is a low, weak plant with narrow, long leaves. The tobacco obtained from it, however, is considerably stronger than that from the second kind, called lŏ yŭm kŭ fŏ. Tobacco is harvested about six months after planting. The plant is cut off just above the root, the stalk with the lower leaves left on it is discarded, and the leaves that have been picked off are sorted. Those from the middle height of the stalk give a different quality of tobacco than those from the upper third. Now the leaves are dried and then put out in the dew for a night to moisten them. Then they are tightly piled on top of one another, rolled up together, and packed in green banana leaves, which are tied together. Then the tobacco undergoes a kind of /380/ fermentation process and, thus preserved, keeps up to two years. Immediately before use, it is cut up into small 276 pieces with a knife on a board (chapter, "House Furnishings, Household and Kitchen Utensils," Fig. 160).

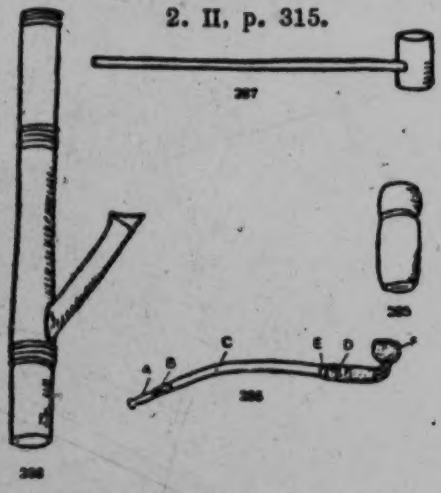
Some of this cut tobacco, which is now ready for use is carried /Figs. 285-288 appear here/ by every Meau in a spe- [415] cial little box of bamboo or wood provided with a cover (Fig. 285), in order to have it at hand for his pipe (Figs. 286 and 287). In addition, water pipes of bamboo are used (Fig. 288), which Lajonquière (1) confirms for Tonkin as well. The author also

1. II, p. 303.

informs us that the bowls of the "ordinary pipes" are made of stone, wood, or copper, while the generally long stem is made of porcelain.

/380 cont./

● 276 [171] The Meau know of no other form of enjoyment of tobacco, such as the rolling of cigars or cigarettes, which is customary among the Lao and Schan /Shan/. Other plants, such as the hemplike ones, are not smoked either. Savina (2), 2. II, p. 315.



Figs. 285-288. Equipment for Tobacco-smoking among the Meau.

[415] Fig. 285. Tobacco box of bamboo, with cover, 1/7 nat. size. Fig. 286. Tobacco pipe of the chief, about 1/7 nat. size: A = mouthpiece of porcelain; B = silver mounting; C = stem; D = brass; E = sealed with wax. Fig. 287. Tobacco pipe of bamboo, 1/4 nat. size. Fig. 288. Water pipe of bamboo, 1/7 nat. size.

[857] however, reports that the Meau children in Tonkin smoke discarded hemp-stalks. It seems, however, that this is more of a game, rather than real enjoyment of the drug. The chewing of betel is unknown, which Lajonquière (1) /see footnote 1 above/ confirms for Indochina.

/381 cont./

276 [439] [412] Furthermore, opium plays a very important role, both as a stimulant and remedy and as an article of trade (see the chapter, "Trade"). When the poppy fruits are almost ripe, they are slit with a special instrument, the poppy-slitting knife (Ill. 73 and Fig. 289). This consists of three iron blades tied together. The three sharp points of the combined blades are used to slit the capsule, from which a gummy juice flows out. By the next morning it has hardened and is now collected in gourd bowls with a scraper (Fig. 290). This substance is then pressed into bamboo vessels and left for two or three days, whereupon it exudes water. Now it is kneaded and pounded in mortars and rolled into cylinders, which are wrapped in paper. This produces the raw opium, the /382/ /Figs. 289-298 appear here/ article of trade. For one pound the Meau receive 18 ticals [439] [435] from the Chinese traders; the traders then make a profit of many hundred times this amount.

In order to make the ardently desired stimulant from this raw product, it is boiled three times in water in special copper kettles (Fig. 291). For the first cooking, one adds water to the opium in the amount of ten times the weight and cooks it until the opium mixes with the water and forms a homogeneous substance. Then the liquid is filtered through a double layer of bamboo paper (Fig. 192). To the extract obtained, fresh water is added in the amount of 50 per cent of its quantity, the filtered residue is likewise mixed in, and the whole is boiled anew and filtered again. The filtration residue is now thrown away, and [439] the liquid obtained is boiled until it forms a viscous mass which, for trading, may be boiled down until it is quite hard.

The drug is swallowed with water by the Meau, as well as smoked in Chinese fashion, but not chewed. Older men usually eat some opium in the morning but smoke a pipe in the evening. For this purpose the proper amount is /383/ speared on a needle (Fig. 293), then heated over a small lamp (Figs. 294 and 295) until it becomes soft (Ill. 74), and then stuck into the opium pipe (Fig. 296) which is smoked.

[See cat 116, p573- ANALYST]

39: Bernatzik--519 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand
Miao AE5

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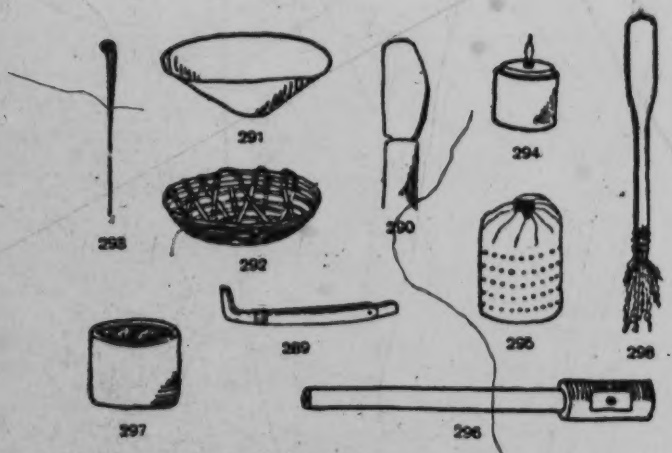

Figs. 289-298. Opium Apparatus of the Meau.

Fig. 289. Knife for slitting poppies, 1/8 nat. size. Fig. 290. Poppy scraper, 1/6 nat. size. Fig. 291. Copper kettle, 1/6 nat. size. Fig. 292. Plaited strainer with filter paper, 1/6 nat. size. Fig. 293. Iron needle for putting the opium into the pipe, 1/6 nat. size. Fig. 294. Opium lamp: a bamboo container, in it a brass vessel with a candle, 1/4 nat. size. Fig. 295. Perforated iron cover, which is put over the opium lamp, 1/4 nat. size. Fig. 296. Opium pipe of bamboo, 1/6 nat. size. Fig. 297. Bamboo vessel for straining opium, 1/10 nat. size. Fig. 298. Feather brush with wooden handle, for cleaning the opium kettle, 1/7 nat. size.

AKha A04
Miao AE5

/383 cont./

M 276 [556] The Meau are passionate opium smokers. The poor man treats himself to his pipe on a holiday eve no differently than the workman among us does his beer. Rich people, on the other hand, smoke every day. Nevertheless, I did not discover any detrimental influence of the drug. The capacity for work did not seem to have suffered; no Meau was "addicted" in the true sense of the word. The harmfulness of opium, however, M [562] is well known to the Meau; this is also shown by the fact that the enjoyment of opium is prohibited for women, youth, and [114] children. Nevertheless, the statements by Lajonquière (1) and

1. II, p. 303.

Abadie (2), that the Meau smoke only a little opium, are to be

2. Page 160.

considered, it seems to me, just as relative as the statement by the first author that the Meau smoke less tobacco than the Tho.

M [763] In addition, in northern Thailand the drug is given in larger amounts to incurable patients, in order to make death [757] easier for the patient under its influence.

A 249 [276] The Akha are perhaps even more passionately attached to tobacco than the Meau. At any rate, the Akha, who otherwise very happily plant everything mixed together, lay out special tobacco fields. The subsequent procedure, however, is more primitive than that of the Meau. The Akha cut off all the leaves of the tobacco plant, mix them together, make tight bundles of these green leaves, and wrap them in several layers of banana leaves. The leaves ferment in the course of time. Then the covering is removed and the tobacco leaves are cut into strips and dried, whereupon they are usually stored in bamboo containers.

39: Bernatzik--573 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand
Miao AE5

/Opposite p. 426./

276 ●
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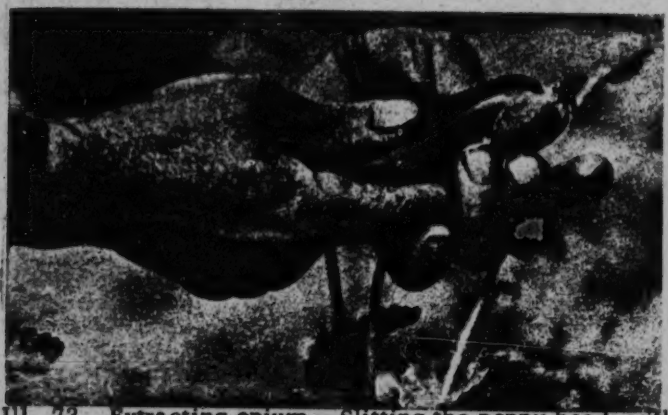

Ill. 73. Extracting opium. Slitting the poppy heads with a three-bladed knife.

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Ill. 74. Opium smoker.

39: Bernatzik--724. E-5. (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand
Miao AE5

/VI cont./

125 854 brother on her back, proceeds with the drawing material never seen before.

857 Ill. 68. Children making garlands out of fragrant flowers. In the games of the smaller children both sexes participate.

Ills. 69-74. Festival of the Meau in Nam Fa.

526 883 Ill. 69. The popular game with the cloth ball. The ball game is of great significance as an opportunity for the two sexes to approach each other. As a rule, boys and girls of two villages form opposing teams.

Ill. 70. Since the rules of the game require that the person who does not succeed in catching the ball must give some piece of clothing that he is wearing at the moment as a forfeit to the thrower, interesting consequences are not wanting when the game continues for a long time.

/VII/

526 Ill. 71. Meau girls at a circle game. They have joined hands and quickly scamper around in a circle.

Ill. 72. There is a peculiar game with the shuttlecock (upper left) and the wooden bat, which was the forerunner of tennis in Europe. Two players alternately hit the shuttlecock (wooden body with feathers stuck into it). A net is unknown, as it was originally in Europe.

276 [439] Ill. 73. The most important stimulant of the Meau is opium, which at the same time represents the most important article of trade of most of the mountain peoples of Farther India. The green poppy heads are slit with a special instrument, and the juice that comes out of them, hardening in the air and later condensed by cooking, forms the raw opium.

[177] Ill. 74. Whereas the young people end the festival in their way, the elders finish it with an opium pipe. Following the Chinese custom, opium is smoked primarily, and chewed only as an exception. The illustration shows the chief of Nam Fa lying on his mat just at the moment of putting the little ball of heated opium into his pipe with the help of a needle.